

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

The War Must End Sometime: What Then?

STATE OUR TERMS FOR PEACE NOW!

*We Know WHOM We're Fighting:
WHAT Are We Fighting FOR?*

WHAT are we fighting for? What is the settlement the Allied Governments will aim at when an armistice is called?

These questions are being asked daily by a steadily increasing body of public opinion which is tiring of the repetition of vague phrases used by Government spokesmen to justify the continuation of the war. They demand an immediate answer.

Herr Hitler has already tabled his proposals. They have been rejected. But no concrete alternative peace offer has been declared by the Allies. Stalemate of this kind is intolerable when men are dying daily and when preparations are proceeding for an intensification of the conflict in the West.

Herr von Ribbentrop has now made full use of the Allies' attitude. He has told the German people: "Chamberlain has finally refused the hand of peace offered by Germany . . . Germany accepts this challenge."

Mr. George Bernard Shaw, writing in the *Daily Herald* on Wednesday, advocated the acceptance of the truce proposed by Germany, and said that if we did not immediately announce our willingness to negotiate "Herr Hitler will have put us in the wrong as completely as we put ourselves at Versailles last time."

A nation-wide effort is now to be made to prevent so terrible a blunder.

The National Peace Council is undertaking a new campaign designed to encourage the Government to make a precise and constructive statement of the terms upon which it is prepared to make peace and to announce its readiness to join at once in a Peace Conference of belligerent and neutral States, on the basis of this agenda.

The Council believes it to be of the most urgent importance that such a declaration should be made if the immense hazards of unlimited war are to be avoided and the chance of making an early and constructive peace is not to be forfeited.

The Council submits that the general assurances of our desire for a fair deal for the German people and for the building up of "a better international system" should now be translated into concrete terms and made known to the world.

The Council's campaign is intended to show the strength of public support for such an initiative by the British Government and so that a rapid response may be indicated, local organizations of every kind throughout the country—Churches, Chapels, Trade Unions, political groups, branches of peace and cultural organizations, &c.—are being asked to endorse a statement, sending their endorsement to Headquarters of the Council and copies to Members of Parliament and the Press. All the sympathetic national organizations are being asked to circulate printed copies of the statement to their branches and groups, and in this way it is hoped to secure a powerful and impressive expression of public opinion in record time.

Call for a Declaration of the Peace They Seek

THE text of the appeal by the National Peace Council is in the following terms:

WE, the undersigned, believing that every effort should be made to bring the war to a close under conditions which offer the prospect of a just and durable peace, urge:

(1) That for the promotion of this purpose the British Government should at the earliest opportunity and after consultation with the French Government, indicate in explicit terms its conception of the structure of a desirable peace and the contributions it is prepared to make towards its realization.

(2) That such a Declaration should include proposals for:

(a) International economic co-operation to facilitate the change-over from war conditions to a peaceful economy and to raise the standard of living of all peoples (with a specific pledge to undertake, in conjunction with the Dominions, any revision of the economic policy of the British Commonwealth necessary for this purpose).

(b) The submission of all dependent territories not ripe for self-government to some form of international control ensuring the ending of exploitation and monopoly, the safeguarding of the welfare and

progress of the native peoples and the availability of raw materials and opportunities for trade on equal terms to every nation.*

(c) A general and drastic reduction of armaments as offering one of the surest guarantees of peace.

(d) The development of a new international order based upon the federal principle and having as its mainspring the free co-operation of peoples.

(e) The ensuring of the essential democratic rights of all peoples, including the Polish, Czech, and Slovak peoples and the Jewish race, and further urge:

(3) That this Declaration should be communicated by formal Note to all Governments, should be given the fullest possible publicity in Germany by all available methods and should be accompanied by an explicit announcement of the willingness of Great Britain to join in a peace conference directed to the issues raised above and composed of representatives of both belligerent and neutral States.

*The document envisages that the rapid realization of full self-government for India should be regarded as the essential objective of British policy.

Joint Campaign

The statement which is to be used as the basis of the campaign was approved at a meeting last Friday of the Emergency Committee of the Council. This Committee is an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of ten peace organizations affiliated to or associated with the NPC and including the Peace Pledge Union.

The campaign is therefore a joint one and should serve to consolidate peace action at an exceptionally critical moment.

The text of the appeal for which endorsement is being sought is given in the panel on the left.

A printed folder containing two copies of the appeal itself, together with the form for endorsement, can be obtained from the National Peace Council at 39 Victoria Street, SW1. The appeal is also available in leaflet form.

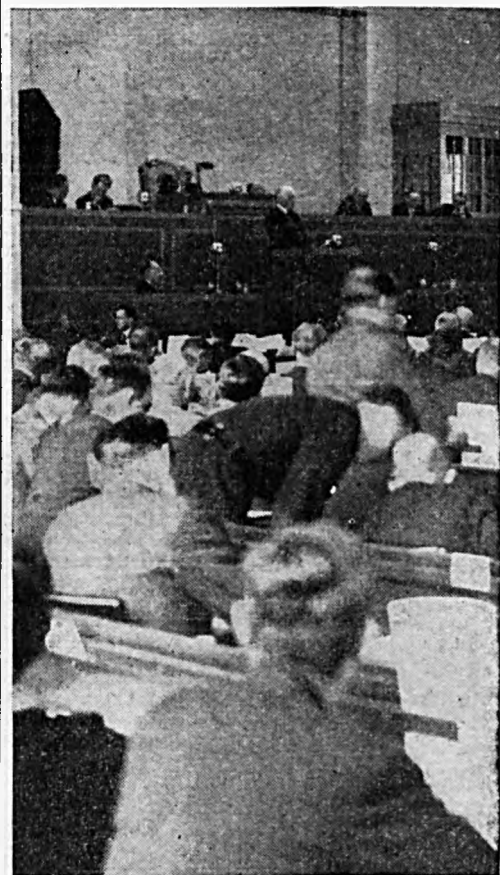
Appeal to Pacifists

The Directing Secretary of the National Peace Council, Mr. Gerald Bailey, in a special message to *Peace News* expresses "the hope that readers of *Peace News* and members of the PPU generally will do their utmost to ensure the success of this important move by bringing the appeal directly to the notice of all local bodies with which they are connected or which they can reach through friends."

**WHICH WAY
TO REAL
PEACE?**



**THE OLD WAY:
WAR — WHICH
WE HAVE TRIED
AND PROVED TO
BE FUTILE, OR—**



**THE NEW WAY:
CONFERENCE?**

Comments on the News . . .

THE decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress on Sunday to withdraw its Ministries from provincial legislatures of India where Congress is in power brings India to the forefront of the world stage this week.

Reginald Reynolds, who is an authority on this subject, writes:

"From the outset of the war much attention has been given in the press to expressions of 'loyalty' from all parts of the Empire.

"After the self-governing dominions (whose populations constitute only a small fraction of that Empire—about one seventh) the principal oracles of loyalty have been the Indian princes. This, of course, was to be expected, as these feudal despots only maintain their position by virtue of British support.

"Having exhausted the possibilities—as propaganda—of the Dominions and the Princes, our press sought for the most obscure names to represent the alleged loyalty of India and the colonies. Indians, Arabs, Negroes and others whose names have rarely or never been heard of before in this country or their own, have been cited as representatives of the universal desire among their countrymen to fight for a democracy which they do not share and a freedom which they do not enjoy.

"On the other hand, how much have we been told of adverse declarations—where it has been possible to make them? In India, the Congress Party, which is supreme throughout the greater part of the country, has emphatically repudiated the idea of fighting for 'democracy' when democracy is for Indians only a shadow.

"Indeed, one of the first emergency measures passed in our own Parliament at the outbreak of war was one to extend the existing measures of coercion in India so that, if the 'self-government' now operating in the provinces should in any way impede the progress of the war, the Viceroy and Governors could with more ease take over the entire machinery, disperse with the elected legislatures and govern the country on a purely dictatorial basis. This piece of crude imperialism went through Parliament in about ten minutes after being formally moved by the Government and then seconded by Mr. Wedgwood Benn. on behalf of the Labour Party.

The Real Opposition

"BUT while our press has at least noted the Congress opposition* it has made no mention at all of the even stronger opposition of the Congress 'Left-Wing'.

"Essentially the official Congress attitude is one of bargaining—'Give us self-government and we will support you.' It is unlikely that the Government will come to terms, although some concessions may be made or offered to tempt the would-be bargainers, and we should beware of them. Before the war Mr. J. T. Gwynn, in the *Manchester Guardian*, anticipated the present situation and proposed sweeping con-

*The *Daily Herald* even published, on October 13, its Calcutta correspondent's report that it was felt in India "that Britain is playing her old game of mobilizing against the nationalist movement every variety of dissident Indian opinion."

News of Pacifist Ex-Soldier

Mr. L. J. Daventry, who is at present in Aldershot Military Prison, has received a remission of sentence and will be nominally "released" on October 30, though he will still be held in custody for re-trial.

However, parcels of books and cigarettes, &c., which he is not allowed to receive now, can be sent to the Commandant (the Military Detention Barracks, Aldershot, Hants.), marked outside with his name and number (Riflemen L. J. Daventry, No. 6912670) to be given to him on his "release." He will not be allowed any visitors except his mother.

Mrs. Daventry writes to say that he son thanks everyone for their encouraging letters, but owing to the regulations he is unable to answer personally.

Notice to Correspondents

Please do not address envelopes containing cash or orders to the Editor, but to the Publishing Dept., *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. It saves a good deal of time and trouble. If communications to the Editor must be included in the same envelope, please put them on separate sheets of paper and mention both departments on the envelope.

Indian Searchlight on Our Sincerity : Strength of Anti-War Feeling : "Divide and Rule" : A Reminder from "G.L."

cessions to Indian nationalism; and a recent article in the *News Chronicle* followed the same line.

"But such articles should only teach us that there is a mass of colonial opinion much more to be feared than the bargaining politicians. What are those papers looking at? I suggest that they are looking, for example, at the Congress Socialist Party, the Kisan Movement and other 'left-wing' movements in India which are not satisfied with the proposed bargains and have re-affirmed their unalterable opposition to participation in the war on any terms whatsoever.

"These movements are not negligible. They have a wide-spread and growing support."

Mr. Gandhi's Attitude

IT will be recalled that, during the second week of the war, the Congress Working Committee invited the British Government "to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her inhabitants."

In a comment on the manifesto containing that invitation, Mr. M. K. Gandhi wrote:

"I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally. This could only be done on a purely non-violent basis."

"But the Committee had a tremendous responsibility to discharge. It could not take the purely non-violent attitude. It felt that the nation had not imbibed the non-violent spirit requisite for the possession of the strength which disdains to take advantage of the difficulty of the opponent."

"But in stating the reasons for its conclusion the Committee desired to show the greatest consideration for the English."

"Divide and Rule"

WHEN the Viceroy's reply was known, it was condemned by Mr. Gandhi—who said it "simply shows that the old policy to divide and rule is to continue"—by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (former Congress President), and by three members of the Congress War Sub-Committee.

The British attitude was again defined in a statement by Lord Zetland, Secretary for India, on Wednesday of last week.

He declared that the British Government had no intention of departing from its objective of dominion status for India. At the end of the war, he added, the British Government would be willing to consult the various Indian interests to secure modifications of particular features of the 1935 Act if such were desired.

Mr. Gandhi's comments on the Viceroy's statement apply to Lord Zetland's statement also:

"The . . . declaration shows clearly," said Mr. Gandhi, "that there will be no democracy for India if Britain can prevent it. Another round-table conference is promised at the end of the war. Like its predecessor, it is bound to fail. Congress, in asking for bread, has got a stone. What the future has in store for India I dare not foretell."

Non-Co-operation?

A POSSIBILITY that cannot be ruled out is a revival of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. The resignation of the Congress Ministries is itself a step in the direction of the latter.

It would be an ironical situation if those who are waging war against German imperialism, and are hoping that the Czechs will revolt against their masters, are themselves faced with a revolt within their own empire! Such a development would show beyond all doubt the basic kinship be-

tween both systems of exploitation and oppression.

For that very reason the British authorities may try to prevent an open breach, particularly in view of the effect it would have in neutral countries. On the other hand, reports from India tell of a belief that the British authorities are actually seeking to promote a conflict with Indian nationalist movements.

When Will They Learn?

NEVER unwatchful for opportunities to put the pacifist case in Parliament, pacifist MPs are as vigilant now that the thing they sought to prevent has come, as ever they were. Small as the group is, it is seldom realized by people who see them as placed in position of unparalleled opportunity how hard it is for any of them to "catch the Speaker's eye."

But George Lansbury was recently given a good chance. Following the Labour and Liberal leaders, he was the third to speak after Mr. Chamberlain's statement answering Herr Hitler's peace proposals. And his speech was longer than that of either of the other Opposition leaders. Not much of it got into the daily press, however.

He pointed out first, for the benefit of those doing so.

AND STILL SALES GO UP!

INDICATIVE of the growing public interest in the pacifist message is the rising circulation of *Peace News*. This week we are able to report an increase of 1,000 in orders (mostly through Newsagents) for our October 20 issue. Thus the substantial weekly increases which have been experienced since the war began were continued uninterrupted.

Any arithmeticians among our readers have probably noticed that the individual subscriptions to the *Peace News* Fund which we acknowledged last week did not tally with the total at the bottom. Actually, however, the total was correct and we would apologise to the contributors whose subscriptions were inadvertently omitted.

Owing to the growing number of subscribers, and to the very heavy demands on our space, we have been forced to discontinue the practice of acknowledging individual contributions in *Peace News* week by week. This week, however, we would specially like to thank the ex-soldier who for two weeks in succession has contributed his pension to the fund. Over £10 was sent in during the week, bringing the total up to £296 8s. 2½d.

Donations of any size will be welcomed. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd.—and not the *Peace Pledge Union*—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

German Pastors in English Service for Refugees

German pastors, fugitives from Nazi persecution, will take part in a service of intercession conducted by the Bishop of Chichester (Dr. G. Bell) in St. John's Church, Smith Square, Westminster, tomorrow (Saturday). The service will begin at 2.45.

The service, which is interdenominational, is being organized by the Church of England Committee for non-Aryan Christians affiliated to the Christian Council for Refugees. They have issued a general invitation to refugees in London and their sympathizers in the hope of bringing comfort and a sense of fellowship to some of those who have sought shelter in this country from the tyranny of the Hitler regime.

... edited by "Observer"

who still think pacifists are indifferent to the suffering caused by aggression, that he "and the friends with whom I am usually associated view with as much horror as does everybody else the aggression, the persecution and the slaughter which have taken place in Poland; but while we may express our sympathy with the Polish people, there are those of us who cannot accept the doctrine that by more slaughter the wrong which has been done will be rectified. It is impossible for me to understand how it is that hon. and right hon. Members who take part in these debates do not appear to have learnt anything from the past."

Appeal to Roosevelt

PERHAPS it was for the benefit of Mr. Roosevelt, who has seemed over-anxious to declare that no-one has asked him to intervene in the cause of peace, that George Lansbury said:

"I would like to do publicly what I did privately, appeal to President Roosevelt and to the King of the Belgians to make one more effort, one more supreme effort at this moment, to bring the nations together."

"If the belligerents will not come, I wish the neutrals would come together. As our Government look at present upon Russia as a neutral, Russia could attend that conference. Let them hammer out proposals for dealing with the situation as it is now. I believe that they have the best right to do this."

"I believe, further, that you cannot overlook the fact that Lord Halifax in another place and the Prime Minister today at that Box spoke of the new world into which we shall emerge. . . I wonder whether the day will ever come when a similar effort [to the war effort] will be made to sweep away the bad economic conditions and the poverty and destitution in our own country, and whether there will ever be a day when Ministers will stand at that Box and say: 'Now we are building a new England, a new Britain, and a new world.'"

Remembering India

AND it was for Mr. Churchill's special benefit (as well as others) that George Lansbury concluded:

"You may tell me a thousand times that Hitler is this, that, or the other, and you may tell me that no-one's words are to be trusted; but when you speak of democracy, just remember India."

"I am sorry that the First Lord of the Admiralty is not here. When we fought for the miserable Measure that is at present operating in India, he led 70 or 80 Members against that tiny bit of democracy for India."

"Today, if we want to show the world that we really believe in democracy, it is our business to apply our principles where we are capable of doing so."

Objects of New Peace Parliament

The purpose of the new organization, Parliament Christian, whose inaugural meeting will be held in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, on Sunday, October 29, at 3 p.m., is to enable all peace movements and organizations whose members desire peace and a just Christian international settlement, to associate freely together to arouse the conscience of the nation to demand an early peace settlement.

The meeting on October 29 will enable representatives and members of such organizations to meet and appoint a Council which will co-ordinate the activities of other branches of Parliament Christian. All religious bodies, peace movements and other organizations in all towns and boroughs will be invited to form branches. Such branches may be run under the direction of the organizations which establish them, or in association with other bodies.

Parliament Christian and its branches will meet weekly during wartime to analyse all questions under discussion in Parliament proper. The "findings" of Parliament Christian will be sent to all householders to be signed and sent to the Government in the form of a National Plebiscite. By this means it is hoped to ensure a public demand for peace, and that no Government decision will be made without the consent of the people.

Parliament Christian will not enter into details in its demands but will insist that the necessary peace proposals and reforms are made to give effect to its basic Christian principles.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PACIFIST SERVICE

In view of a recent decision by the London tribunal for conscientious objectors that an applicant should be registered as a CO provided he joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit, we give below the addresses from which particulars may be obtained of similar unofficial forms of service:

Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.
Paul S. Cadbury, Manor Farm, Northfield, Birmingham, 31 (for details of an Ambulance Training Camp for Friends and attenders at Quaker meetings);

Donald Bentley, 1 Lyddon Place, Leeds, 2 (for details of the International Voluntary Service for Peace);

Karl Capper-Johnson, Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1 (who is registering offers of service and acting as a clearing house for such offers in several directions).

Call to Workers to Fight Against the War and Build a New Society

NEWS FROM
ABROAD

BELGIAN SYNDICALISTS REAFFIRM THEIR 1914 STAND

ANTI-MILITARIST opinion on the Continent has not been entirely smothered by the coming of war.

Belgian syndicalists have called upon workers and peasants to fight against the war and to co-operate in building up "a society of men of equal rights."

"Once more we hear the holders of power in Germany and England declare that their consciences are clear, whilst they call upon God to witness that they are in the right," ran a manifesto, which was published in the Swedish newspaper *Arbetaren* (from which it has been translated by a *Peace News* Correspondent, John E. Radcliffe).

"The press and the wireless in the various countries spread only the news which the governments in the respective countries consider to be expedient. . . .

"Right, freedom and other conceptions are misused to serve a bad end. . . .

"War is a means of struggle for groups of capitalist interests. War is always disadvantageous for the working people, but they seem quite suddenly to have forgotten all this.

"In this condition of horror and catastrophe we Syndicalists will not and cannot remain passive.

Workers' Responsibilities

"Passivity is madness—nay, worse; it is condonation of the great crime which is causing the deaths of millions of people.

"We wish to express the opinion that the workers also are co-responsible for the pestilence of murder which is today laying waste the nations.

"If the capitalists provided money to help Hitler to erect, maintain, and extend the National Socialist organization, with the help of which he afterwards conquered the State apparatus; if the capitalists provided National Socialist Germany with money, weapons, and raw materials through the help of which it can now wage war against the so-called democratic countries, so is it also true that nowhere have the parties, trade unions, and churches in practice resisted the spread of war.

"The workers build fortifications, aeroplanes and vehicles for war purposes, and manufacture munitions, bombs and gases; they load and transport also the raw materials for the manufacture of instruments of war. . . .

"Fight Against War!"

"We revolutionary Syndicalists, who in 1914 to 1918 led the fight against war and militarism, on this occasion also stand firm by this standpoint.

"We consider that the workers and peasants must co-operate in order, by means of their organizations, to annihilate capitalism and begin to build up a society of men of equal rights.

"Fight with us against war! Long live the International Workers' Association!"

Read the

SOCIALIST CASE AGAINST WAR in "FORWARD" Every Friday 2d. HONEST, FEARLESS, INDEPENDENT

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Pacifists "Down Under" Face the War

WRITING from Auckland, New Zealand, a member of the Peace Pledge Union who went there last March from Cornwall, states:

"The lid is clamped tight down and the poor woolies are being fed by the most appalling spoon feeding by the two or three dailies. This is a 'Holy War'—the same old story.

"There is a branch of the PPU in Wellington, also a Christian Pacifist Society out in Auckland; but of course no notices of their meetings have been allowed in the papers, until last week when three of the Wellington Christian Pacifists were hauled before the courts for speaking against recruiting.

"The leader is a Methodist clergyman, and when told that he would be 'let out' if he promised not to repeat the offence, he said he could only continue his 'nefarious' work while the war continued.

"The Labour Party, which, of course, is the Government, is solidly and rampantly 'War,' even though I understand several members were actually Conscientious Objectors during the last war."

Americans Petition Their Government: "Stay Out of War and Attempt Mediation"

POVERTY and DESTRUCTION

DURING 1934 over 2,500,000 people died from starvation and nearly 1,300,000 committed suicide, because of economic distress.

During the same period 1,500,000 carloads of wheat; 300,000 carloads of coffee; 600,000 cwt. of sugar; 50,000 cwt. of rice and 60,000 cwt. of meat were deliberately destroyed to maintain prices at an "economic" level.

—Figures supplied by World Committee for Relief.

Co-operative Development in New Zealand—

NEW ZEALAND'S first co-operative farm is being planned by a group of South Taranaki farmers who intend to pool their properties and resources, take out shares in proportion to the size and value of their holdings, and run the land as a team of specialists.

Under this scheme they hope to make substantial savings in costs, to strike out in new directions, making the most of mechanisation and to increase production.

—and in the U.S.A.

The third all-co-operative town in the USA is to be Greendale, Wisconsin, built by the Farm Security Administration on the outskirts of Milwaukee. It will operate 11 of its stores and services as co-operatives, according to a decision of its residents.

The town will have a co-operative self-service food store, filling station and garage, general merchandise store and pharmacy.

From the Editor's Notebook

"Caught in a Net . . ." War's Outrage Against Man Peace Loses an Expert

"I AM a creature caught in a net. . . . I feel quite clearly that I ought to have stood aside. . . . To defy the whole system, to refuse to be an instrument of it, this is what I should have done."

How many "this time," must be thinking or will think, thoughts like these expressed, not by an ex-soldier disillusioned after years of contemplation of a "peace" that was a betrayal of the fallen, but by a young soldier—A. G. West—in his diary before he was killed in action in the Great War? What agony of soul must be theirs with every day the war goes on!

But what of the young fellows who today are being sent to the front in spite of their claim to have conscientious objections to going? It is, I think, a little too hasty a judgment to say that if they go, in spite of their claim, then it proves that the tribunal was really right in saying that they had no conscientious objection.

Certainly they are not going to be conscientious acceptors of their lot. Even if their objection was nothing more than a failure to see what benefits they had received from England sufficient to warrant their fighting for her (as was the view of the London Tribunal in at least one case I know of personally), their lot is not going to be a happy one.

Genuine Objectors

BUT if there is anything in one of the chief arguments against conscription of youth—that at the age of 20 and thereabouts—people's minds are not made up, that they have not the strength to face the social consequences of taking an unpopular stand, and that, in fact, their consciences are only half-formed—then we can expect that a certain number even of the most genuine conscientious objectors will nevertheless get pushed into the fighting line.

One I know myself certainly put up a poor case, and was put without qualification on the military service register. But he

would not even appeal against the decision because he could not stand the taunts and sneers of his workmates.

It was no consolation to him that some of his tormentors had so much less courage than he that they dared not sign their insulting letters.

Yet I am still not persuaded that that chap had no conscientious objection to war.

I am convinced that not only he but perhaps thousands like him really have such an objection but either do not themselves realize it yet or express it so badly that they manage to give an unsympathetic tribunal an entirely wrong impression. After all, few people, especially of that age, ever use the word "conscience," even if they discuss their views about things at all!

Isn't the wrong that is being done now to those young men one of the worst things about conscription? And isn't that kind of wrong—the wrong done to the developing human spirit everywhere—one of the major tragedies of war itself?

H. C. Engelbrecht

MANY in the peace movement, if not of the general public, will remember H. C. ENGELBRECHT as joint author of one of the classic books on the evils of the trade in arms—*Merchants of Death*—and will be sorry to hear of his death.

Latterly he had put his knowledge and talents at the disposal of the *Norfolk News Service* as co-editor, for four years, with DEVERE ALLEN. The service is now being operated from Belgium, and news of ENGELBRECHT's death reached his former associates in Brussels in the form of a meagre cablegram from America on October 10. This merely announced that he had died suddenly.

The news service just received in England speaks of "the simple, unaffected way in which one of the best informed persons of his day went about his speech-making, his research, and his writing of articles and books that were, perhaps, too uncompromising for the widest possible acceptance." He was a man who was always ready to cast his lance "against war, against economic stand-pattism, against race prejudice."

A NATIONAL petition to the President and Congress of the United States is the latest development in the campaign by American peace organizations reported in last week's *Peace News*.

Signatories of the petition urge the President and Congress to keep the United States out of war. "We believe in a policy of strict neutrality," they state.

They "ask that the President and the Congress retain the arms embargo and resist any and all attempts to make blood money—'fool's gold'—out of Europe's war," and urge their government "to join with other neutral nations in continuous and unceasing efforts to mediate a speedy, just, and lasting peace."

The petition is sponsored by the National Council for Prevention of War, which is urging its supporters to do all in their power to show Americans why the arms embargo should be retained, and to tell their elected representatives of their views.

Quakers to Aid Polish Refugees

A delegation of three from the Friends' Service Council left London last week for Rumania to inquire into the possibilities of doing relief work among Polish refugees.

The delegation is also likely to visit Hungary. They are taking with them a grant from the Anglo-Polish Relief Fund for immediate use in necessitous cases.

The three members of the delegation, Dr. Richard Ellis, Miss Francesa Wilson, and Mr. D. O'Donovan, have all recently been engaged in relief work in Spain, and therefore have first-hand knowledge of refugee problems.

"Peace News" Offices
3 Blackstock Road
London, N. 4

THE leader of the Northenden and Wythenshawe group of the Peace Pledge Union (MAURICE FRENCH) tells me of an experience that should prompt all PPU owners of cars to fix the appropriate "sticker", obtainable from Headquarters (price 2d.) to their back windows. Here is his story in his own delightful words.

"I was chuffing along to work the other day in my dear old 1932 Jowett when the traffic light was unkind to me. On starting off again at 'green,' I heard a deep 'peep' behind me, so I 'stepped on it' to make way for the impatient plutocrat. Before I'd progressed five yards there was another 'peep'! 'What's got this fellow!' said I, hurriedly and modestly drawing aside to let him pass.

"As he came level I prepared one of those cold looks which convey 'Rather in a hurry, aren't you?'—but to my surprise he beckoned me to stop. 'Something wrong?' I thought, 'spare wheel loose or something.' He slowed to a stop in front of me, a big superior looking car, a beauty.

"I looked inquiringly as he approached, hurriedly suppressing the 'frozen' look. 'I want to get in touch with the PPU,' he said. 'I read your label when stopped at the crossing.' Was I stirred! I took his particulars as eagerly as any traffic-cop and found to my delight that he came from my own area. He's a marked man from now on!

"He'll probably come to our next meeting and—who knows—may be eventually a great power for pacifism in our neighbourhood—and all because I'd got my flag out!"

Appeal to Women

A HANDBILL from the last war-to-end-war, sent to me by a New Malden reader, calls upon women to oppose conscription in terms that are almost mild compared with the strength of feeling which, as shown by another letter in our columns this week, prompts many women to work against war and conscription.

Recalling that "the PRIME MINISTER said that conscription would not be introduced unless there was 'general consent,'" the leaflet declares that "women had not consented—they had not even been asked." Conscription, it adds, means "putting a boy into barracks which unfit him for the factory and the workshop"; "separating him from the influences which keep him straight during his early manhood"; and "that mothers must have their sons trained to kill the sons of other mothers."

It was published by the National Council for Civil Liberties.

THE TWILIGHT OF TRUTH

WITH praiseworthy courage not always characteristic of publishers, Messrs. Allen and Unwin have just issued the eighth impression of Lord Ponsonby's famous book *Falsehood in War Time*. I suggest that everyone interested in truth and peace (which are, of course, inseparable) should at once re-read the introduction to this remarkable collection of political lies with its preliminary quotation: "When war is declared, Truth is the first casualty."

For some time before this war, the morning light of truth had steadily deepened into late afternoon. Since war broke out, it has passed into that twilight which quickly leads to the black night of falsehood that Lord Ponsonby describes. Very soon the public mind will be unutterably confused and deluded by the familiar galaxy of inaccurate statements, biased presentations, deliberate prevarications, concealments of fact, atrocities, exaggerations, fakes and cruel charges, which are part of the stock-in-trade of authority in war time. It is a strange reflection on human nature that many individuals who were deceived twenty odd years ago and later realized the deception, will once again swallow these falsehoods as wholesale as though their memories had suffered a total black-out.

There are, however, some who remember and have learned their lesson from not one but two of the occasions on which, as Lord Ponsonby says, "slander of the enemy is esteemed a patriotic duty." On our journey to a recent meeting in Manchester, Maurice Browne, the producer of *Journey's End*, told me that when as a boy of eighteen he fought in the South African War, precisely the same show of moral indignation that is now directed at Herr Hitler and in 1914 was reserved for the Kaiser, concentrated itself upon the Boer leader General Kruger and was expressed in exactly the same phrases.

LORD PONSONBY gives two reasons for the resort to falsification by authorities engaged in war. It is done, he says, "first, to justify themselves by depicting the enemy as an undiluted criminal; and secondly, to inflame popular passion sufficiently to secure recruits for the continuance of the struggle." Among methods of inflaming popular passion, he includes the "personal accusations and false charges made in a prejudiced war atmosphere to discredit persons who refuse to adopt the orthodox attitude towards war."

Peace organizations which decline to sacrifice their principles to expediency are especially liable to this type of misrepresentation. Not only are the authorities, and those organs of the Press which reflect the official mind, afraid of groups which interfere with the wholesale shepherding of public opinion in the desired direction, but the public themselves are terrified of being compelled to think instead of comfortably accepting the mass-produced lies, distortions and exaggerations so widely produced for their consumption.

LONG before the war, members of the Peace Pledge Union began to suffer from the familiar attempts to discredit their views by identifying them with those of "the enemy." Because one PPU publication included "The Link" in a long list of organizations supplying information on foreign countries, the Union was promptly labelled "pro-Nazi." It was credited by implication with such characteristic qualities of Fascism as anti-Semitism (through the PPU has many Jewish members), anti-feminism (though its Council includes several prominent feminists), and authoritarianism (though so large a collection of articulately diverse individuals has rarely been grouped within one organization).

Shortly before the war, great excitement was caused in the Press by the discovery that the Chairman of the PPU was himself a member of "The Link," which he had joined for the purpose of obtaining facts and opinions about Germany, though he had never attended a meeting of the local

group to which he belonged. Several well-known journals actually found material for sensation in this innocent fact, and with perseverance worthy of a better object, sought to pin the Nazi flag to the PPU mast. To quote Lord Ponsonby once more, "a sort of collective hysteria spreads and rises until finally it gets the better of sober people and reputable newspapers."

IMMEDIATELY after this incident, the German-Soviet Pact was formed, the war broke out, and within a month Stalin's army had marched into Poland. The Communists, in addition to their former enemies the Fascists, now became the pariahs of the hour, and the militant critics of peace organizations became uncertain with which set of scoundrels to identify the PPU. Confusion became worse confounded when Hitler and Stalin, having conquered Poland and divided the booty, proceeded to announce a "Peace Plan," thereby obliging their British puppets to scrap all their previous propaganda and piously proclaim the virtues of universal amity.

The Communist right-about-turn in this country rivalled that of its Russian master, for the Central Committee of the British Communist Party, which had declared on September 2 that it had never hidden and never would hide its detestation of Fascism and its readiness to take part in any struggle, political or military, to secure the defeat of Fascism, was proclaiming by October 10 that "the workers have no interest in this unjust war."

In order to discredit the PPU it was now necessary to identify it with Communism as well as Fascism. *The Times* proceeded to give a lead to other newspapers by doing this without delay.

"The argument," it stated in its issue of October 7, "on which it (a certain PPU leaflet) largely relies . . . is identical with that by which the Communist Party of Great Britain is justifying its new attitude."

The Editor's Point of View

PEACE TERMS TO END WAR

IN calling upon the Government to state the terms of a peace which would be acceptable to this country, and in suggesting what those terms should include, the peace movement takes up a task which some have felt that it had laid aside for a time while it concentrated on simply demanding that the war be stopped.

Whether that be so or not, the pacifist at any rate—he who renounces war because it is a crime against humanity—need make no apology for "simply" demanding that the war be stopped. No extenuating circumstances can make it right to go on doing what is known to be wrong or wise to go on trying to achieve a good end by a means that is powerless to achieve it.

Nor should the excellent desire to be positive—which certainly should issue in support for a campaign to establish essential peace terms—allow the pacifist to forget the more negative task of calling for the ending of the war. For the war stands in the way of the peace in more than an obvious sense.

A people that is concerned first to beat an enemy by the methods of modern war is not a people to be relied upon when it says "Peace." Moreover, the longer the war goes on, the more bitter and fierce and barbaric will it become, and the less chance will there be afterward for the settlement to be a just peace.

Above all, the demand for peace terms must be inseparably linked with the demand for the ending of the war because the terms are meaningless unless they are, in fact, the means of ending the war.

HERE, indeed, is where a word of warning would seem to be necessary to bear in mind in any demand that the Government state its peace aims. By all means urge that, but let us be careful that what we get is not a statement of war aims.

VERA BRITTAIN discusses the misrepresentation of the Peace Pledge Union

On the same day, the *Manchester City News* determined to be on the safe side by identifying the PPU with both groups of enemies, celebrated the crowded and unanimous peace meetings held that afternoon in the Houldsworth Hall and Friends' Meeting House by announcing an "Unholy Alliance" between "Blackshirts," "Reds," and the "pro-Nazi 'intellectual' PPU." Contemptuously it referred to our "sadly depleted ranks," thus conveniently ignoring the increase of 3,600 in PPU membership since the war began, and the rise of about 9,000 in the weekly circulation of *Peace News*.

NO PPU member who recalls even dimly the hysterical allegations brought against pacifists between 1914 and 1918 is likely to be shaken by these ludicrous attempts at disparagement and misrepresentation. But for the benefit of recent or junior members, let me restate the obvious fact that the difference between the PPU and those strange companions, the Fascists and Communists, is that fundamental difference between democracy and dictatorship for which government propaganda tells us we should all be ready both to kill and to die.

The PPU takes a firm stand upon the principles of liberty, free speech and independent thought; apart from the basic pledge to renounce war, its organization encourages every variety of individual opinion. Both Fascists and Communists, on the other hand, are authoritarian: who accept their convictions (and the disconcerting *volte-faces* in ideals recently involved) in sterilized transmitters at the behest of a dictator.

There is nothing strange in the similarity excitedly discovered by the Press between certain PPU publications and the "Peace" propaganda now being circulated by both



Fascists and Communists. Organizations suddenly ordered to switch from inflamed militarism to reasoned pacifism are naturally hard put to it to produce immediately literature embodying this spectacular change. What method could be simpler than that of "lifting" the idea; and phrases sincerely put out for years by peace organizations?

If the Press has still that capacity for the impartial investigation of facts which is one of those qualities that we are supposedly fighting to retain, let it make consistency of utterance its test, instead of the similarity momentarily produced by facile and unscrupulous imitation. It need not look far in order to discover books and articles in which our now misrepresented principles were stated (and received at the time with a chorus of approval), long before Stalin was pictured as a factor in Western Europe, or Hitler and his Nazis rocketed into power.

BUT for the sake of early action, it is surely desirable that only the broadest lines of a settlement should be urged at this stage.

In the first place, it should make for greater unity. But in any case, if the peace is to be—as it undoubtedly must be—a freely negotiated peace, no good purpose can be served at this stage by insistence on this detail here and that detail there to meet the differing scruples of the differing sections of public opinion.

If we can get the waste of war stopped and the questions at issue discussed, it will be a tremendous achievement. And it is an achievement that is, I believe, actually within our grasp if we bend all our energies to it now.

Yet if the immediate demand for peace must of necessity be framed in general terms, there is no reason at all why those terms should not be such as to ensure that, whatever detailed form they ultimately may take, they will—if really carried out—represent a definite break with war policies and at least a beginning of real peace.

When our telephone goes wrong we demand that it be put right. We make no apology for not even knowing, let alone saying, just how it should be done or what it should look like when it is done. Yet that "general demand" leaves no room at all—short of actual failure to comply with the demand—for anything but the righting of what has gone wrong.

True, the analogy is not perfect. But the difference, surely, is not that we should necessarily present a complete and detailed plan of work to be carried out, but that we should stand by, keep our general demand before people's minds, and, whenever it seems to fade from them, bring it back with ever greater insistence.

At any rate that is the easier thing for ordinary folk to do. So keep it up!

Humphrey S. Moore

LEAFLET RAID ON THE U.S. CAPITAL

WASHINGTON, seat of the United States Government, has had its leaflet raid.

Miss Laura Ingalls, an American airwoman, recently flew over part of the city and dropped peace pamphlets. Some of them fell near the White House, official residence of President Roosevelt.

As the surprise flight ended the civil aeronautics authority issued an order against Miss Ingalls which might result in her losing her permit to fly. The grounds were that she had violated a restricted air zone, covering the Capitol, the White House and other Government buildings.

Miss Ingalls denied that she had flown over the White House.

Already There Are Half as Many C.O.s As During the Whole of the Great War



THE WHITE HOUSE

1916-1918: 16,000 Objectors
1939: 8,449 in Two Age Groups

OF the 215,231 men between 21 and 22 years of age who registered on Saturday under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 4,556 were provisionally registered as conscientious objectors.

This brings the total number of COs registered in two age groups alone up to 8,449—about half of the total during the whole of the Great War. (On June 3, registration day for men aged 20 to 21, 3,893 men were registered as COs).

During the last war there were more than 16,000 objectors. Conscription was introduced in 1916.

In some places pacifists distributed leaflets entitled *To Those Who Are Registering* outside Labour Exchanges on Saturday. At Putney and Willesden this resulted in police action; at Putney leaflets were snatched by the police from the hands of pacifists, and at Willesden two pacifists were put in the cells at the police station for five hours. They will appear in court on Monday. Both cases have been reported to the National Council for Civil Liberties.

A comment on the work of the London tribunal for COs appears below.

PEACE DEMAND GROWS INSIDE LABOUR MOVEMENT

DESPITE a desire to suppress them, demands for the war to be ended continue to be voiced on a growing scale within the Labour movement.

Peace Petition to M.P.s

SIGNATURES are being collected from members of the Labour Party to a petition to be presented to Mr. C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition, and to Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, urging them to exercise their influence in Parliament for an armistice and for peace negotiations.

The petition has been welcomed by Dr. Alfred Salter, Labour MP for West Bermondsey.

Petition forms are obtainable from Mr. William C. Elliott, 36 Hanworth Road, Redhill, Surrey. Each form will contain space for a dozen signatures, and those wishing to help are asked to indicate how many forms they hope to be able to use. The enclosure of a stamped and addressed foolscap envelope would be appreciated but is not essential.

It should be noted that Labour Party members only will be eligible to sign.

At a conference held by the Fabian Society in London recently it was revealed that a letter signed by no less than forty Labour candidates, urging immediate peace, had been refused publication by the *Daily Herald*.

Below are reports of similar demands from Labour and trade union organizations:

A resolution adopted by the Bradford Trades Council called upon the Trades Union Congress immediately to urge the Government to offer a world conference. It also called upon the TUC and the Labour Party to withdraw support from the Government and start a campaign to end war and restore trade union and civil liberties.

One of the resolutions adopted at a weekend conference of Ayrshire Federation of Labour Parties, representing 50,000 members, called on the Government to define its war aims and demanded a world peace conference to stop the waste of human lives.

Similar resolutions have been adopted by Ripon Divisional Labour Party; Fendale Lodge of the South Wales Miners' Federation; Paddington and North-West London branches of the Transport and General Workers' Union; Newcastle branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; Glasgow No. 39 branch of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers; Deritend (Birmingham) Labour Party.

A demand for an armistice and peace conference was made by a Sheffield conference of 80 delegates, held under the auspices of the Labour Women's Advisory Council; and by Willesden Green branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild.

I.L.P.'s Way to Lasting Peace

THE war should be stopped before it extends into a world conflict which may last for years, sacrifice millions of lives, destroy what is best in civilization, and in the end leave a wreckage in which freedom and security are but mocking memories.

So says a statement of policy adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee of the Independent Labour Party.

The statement urges "the working-class movement of this and other countries to take independent action to secure a peace based on Socialist principles irrespective of the capitalist and imperialist interests of either side."

"In putting forward this plan," it continues, "the ILP recognizes that in the present immediate situation the first official step to stop the war must be a conference of governments, and that, even if such a conference included the neutral nations of Europe and the United States of America, as it should, the capitalist and imperialist interests of the Great Powers would prevent the conclusion of an enduring peace."

"But even so, independent action by the working-class movement could exert a considerable influence immediately and a decisive influence subsequently."

"The working-class movement should hold its own international conference simultaneously with the conference of governments, and bring to bear on the official proceedings the demands of the masses of all lands. The working-class movement should determine, whatever the terms of peace that are signed, that it will carry on with unabated vigour an international struggle against capitalism, fascism and imperialism until they are overthrown, and so transform what would be only a temporary truce into the conditions of a permanent peace."

LONDON TRIBUNAL DISALLOWS POLITICAL OBJECTION

ONE case which came before the London tribunal (meeting in Fulham on Friday) was of particular interest as an indication of the changed attitude of the tribunal to people who are suspected of basing their applications on political grounds.

It should be recalled that a Mr. Plume, who came before the tribunal in the early days of the war, put up a vigorous defence on purely political grounds and called Mr. Fenner Brockway, of the ILP, as a witness. He was given conditional exemption.

Since then, however, every application based on political grounds has been directly referred to as such when the decision was given and the "political grounds" stated as the reason for the rejection of the application.

This summing-up was applied also to the case of one applicant (Mr. Priest) last Friday. This was manifestly unfair since it was clear to an impartial observer that Mr. Priest's long statement, though it included political grounds, was primarily based on moral and ethical grounds.

Too Eager to Argue

His ability in arguing seemed to act in his disfavour and an appeal to Judge Hargreaves (the chairman), concerning the validity of a question by Sir James Baillie received no answer. During the hearing of this case Judge Hargreaves made the amazing statement, "Right is sometimes most inexpedient."

Mr. Priest, who had been a member of the Peace Pledge Union since 1936, was removed without qualification from the conscientious objectors' register—an obviously unfair decision, although on purely judicial grounds it might have been justified.

One observer's general impression of the London tribunals is that, while the members try to be scrupulously fair, and generally succeed in doing so, yet they do sometimes so frame their questions as to trap the unwary.

Analysis of Decisions

Following is an analysis of the tribunal's decisions over a period of one week (Thurs., Oct. 12; Fri., Oct. 13; Tues., Oct. 17; Wed., Oct. 18; Thurs., Oct. 19; Fri., Oct. 20):

Registered unconditionally in the Register of Conscientious Objectors: 2.

Registered in the CO's Register conditional upon performance of work of a civil character under civil control (specified by the tribunal): 37.

Registered in the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only: 52.

Registered unconditionally in the Military Service Register: 29.

Advisory Bureaux Changes

A preparatory tribunal for Conscientious Objectors will be held at 271 Walthall Street, Crewe, at 7.30 p.m. on Tuesday, November 7. The tribunal has been organized by the local branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and all COs are invited on whatever grounds their objections may be based.

COs in North Devon should get into touch with one of the following people: W. E. Thornton, 92 Newport Road, Barnstaple, F. E. Glover, "Fairholme," Abbotsham Road, Bideford, Spencer Vivian, Chittlehampton, North Devon, S. H. Simpson, 24 Broad Street, South Molton, or Mrs. Hartree, Sandhills, Salcombe.

We have been informed of the following further amendments and additions to our full list of Advisory Bureaux for COs published on October 6. Any similar changes should NOT be sent to *Peace News*, but to the National Advisory Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Amendments

BRADFORD. Maurice Nichel, PPU Headquarters, 112 Morley Street, Bradford, Yorks.

DONCASTER. Mr. O. Clark, 5 Lawn Avenue, Doncaster, or Rev. T. Jones, 55 Balby Road, Doncaster.

HALIFAX. Mr. A. Bullock, 9 Mostyn Mount, Ovenden, Halifax.

HULL. S. F. Sweet, 50 Wolfreton Lane, Willerby, E. Yorks.

LEATHERHEAD AND ASHSTEAD. Mr. J. Topping, An Groban, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead.

NEWTON ABBOT. Dick Sheppard Centre, 47 East Street, Newton Abbot.

PURLEY. Ernest G. Beard, 24 Coniston Road, Coulsdon, Surrey.

Additions

ABERYSTWYTH. Rev. Dan Evans, Beth-seilum, Queens Road, Aberystwyth.

ALTON. C. W. Hope Gill, 2 The Lindens, Turle Street, Alton, Hants.

BANGOR. R. W. King, 3 Menai View Terrace, Bangor, Caernarvonshire.

BRIDLINGTON. Rev. Stanley Thompson, Elmfield, St. John's Avenue, Bridlington.

BURNLEY EAST. Mr. L. Sutcliffe, 81 Williams Road, Burnley East.

BURNLEY WEST. Rev. N. W. Calvin, 377 Padinan Road, Burnley West.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS. Rev. J. Q. C. Hind, 77 Guild Hall Street, Bury St. Edmunds.

FOREST HILL AND BROCKLEY. Dick Sheppard Centre, 396 Brockley Road, S.E.4.

ORPINGTON. Mr. H. E. Brown, 24 The Chenies, Petts Wood.

WOOD GREEN. Basil Feaver, 154 Hewitt Avenue, N.22.

Salvation Army and Pacifists

Salvationists who are conscientious objectors are invited to communicate with Mr. C. B. Piper, 33 Hadley Gardens, Southall, Middlesex. Mr. Piper is the Songster Leader at the Southall Citadel Corps, and it is hoped by this means to draw together like-minded Salvationists for instruction and encouragement.

Pacifists Challenge Police Ban

THE Peace Pledge Union in Bournemouth is not sitting down under the police ban on its meeting (as reported in last week's *Peace News*).

Having ascertained from the National Council for Civil Liberties that the Chief Constable had no right whatever to ban the meeting, two further meetings have been fixed for Monday next (Oct. 30), when a representative of the NCCL (Mr. K. Digby, a barrister) will be among the speakers. The chairman will be Mr. J. W. Ward, a member of Bournemouth Labour Party, and Mr. John Barclay will be the PPU speaker.

One of the NCCL's barristers took part, with 40 members of the PPU, in a poster parade through Bournemouth last Saturday week as a protest against the ban. Two thousand leaflets were given away en route. There was no interference by the police.

The police have not been notified of the meetings which the group proposes to hold on Monday, for members feel that they have just as much right to hold such a meeting as they had during peace-time.

The meetings will be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, at 3 p.m., and in the Co-operative Hall, Winton, at 8 p.m.

Clackmannan Electors and "MADNESS" OF WAR

ANDREW STEWART writes:

Two correspondents have written to ask me if it is true that after the declaration of the poll at Alloa I said:

"The people of Clackmannan and East Stirling have gone quite mad. They were half-mad a fortnight ago, but they are quite mad now. They have voted for the continuation of the war, involving the whole might of Great Britain and France against the whole might of Germany and Russia."

This is quite an accurate report, and I stand by it—but needless to say it is only a very small part, probably the most spectacular part, of what I said.

I repeated my conviction that war can solve nothing; and I asserted that five, ten or twenty-five years from now the people would know that of the two points of view placed before them the constructive pacifist case alone would bear examination.

Snippets of quotations of this kind have been practically the sole publicity given to our fortnight's campaign. Their intention is obvious: to discredit the pacifist case. The vast mass of sympathizers who read this account will, I know, have had sufficient discrimination to take it for what it was.

So far as the assertion of madness is concerned, I repeat it with vehemence. Any people allowing its Government to drag it into war is half-mad; the same people must be quite mad in my opinion to vote for a continuance of the war.

I should like to thank those many hundreds of well-wishers to whom I regret I cannot reply personally. Their letters were far more encouraging to me during a trying fortnight than they can possibly imagine.

Week-by-Week News of the Peace Pledge Union

100° CENTIGRADE!

The Basque Children

Refugees, But Still Smiling!

"CAESAR the Good," he might be called. His Spanish name, "Cesareo Bueno," means this. He is the eldest of the four Buenos, children of a postman. Their parents are refugees themselves in France. He is a good lad, and has the makings of an excellent clown. His favourite means of expression is an unwritable sound, a cross between a croak and a screech which we imagine he learned from a Punch and Judy show, and scarcely an hour passes without his using it.

Herminia, his elder sister, has a deep, hoarse voice like a negro "hot-rhythm" singer, and the other children used to get her to sing just for the fun of hearing it.

These are the two comics of the family. Teodorina, the younger sister, is a pretty bit of goods, with eyes and long lashes, and always daintily dressed because her sister, 10 years old, takes a constant pride in her.

Carlos, the younger brother, shares charm with Teodorina. You can't stop him from smiling. At least, not easily. The Bueno family are at Laleham School, Margate, where the food, alas, is not of the kind that makes one smile. If you can send any help, please do. T. W.

Enthusiasm in the North

An encouraging report on pacifist activity in the Midlands and the North was given by John Barclay when he returned from meetings in Manchester, Stockport, Oldham and Bolton last weekend.

Laurence Housman had joined him in addressing meetings in this area, which were very well attended.

So great was the interest in Laurence Housman's address on "Sectional Morality" at Manchester last Friday, that it has been suggested that it should be printed.

Enthusiasm was in evidence at meetings of group leaders and members in Manchester and Bolton.

At Manchester Union students heard John Barclay support the motion "That freedom and democracy cannot be defended by war."

By John Barclay

THERE is no passion for this war. It is cold-blooded in its devilry.

The announcer on the wireless seemed to think that "Friday the Thirteenth" was a good day to send German sailors to their death; while the death of British sailors in the Thetis a short time before was described in all its hideous detail for a week on end and was termed a "major disaster."

The bombing and sinking and waste goes on without much comment from the press, whilst those who claim to lead us spiritually pray God to give us victory over forces as evil as our own. For surely no-one can claim that German bombs are

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

better than British or that the destruction of a young German boy is more Christlike than the similar death of an English youth.

I am passionate in my renunciation of war because I am aware of its stupidity and wickedness, and because I believe that if we could fire the imagination of people—an imagination latent in everyone—we could stop this war at once. As pacifists, we appeal to the constructive imagination of all men and women to help us light up this "blackout" and show the way out along the only path left for us. Friendship.

It is the pacifist who must lead the way, burn himself out, exhaust his energies and have the faith that he desires in the rest. It is a grand adventure and calls to our highest courage, but it is necessary to feel

so intensely that the sinking of a U-boat or the starving of a Polish child inflicts suffering on our own minds.

This will create a fever, a peace fever, which will consume as certainly as malaria. There is no other way and only those who can dare this will win through. The compensation that can be looked for is the end of mental conflict and a new-born strength.

During the next few months we have to face the winter and all that this will mean. For heaven's sake let us be cheerful, or the blackout will indeed close in. Go on writing, speaking and living Peace, and remember that we cannot allow ourselves to slacken off for a second.

War is the negation of life and we must build peace. Keep up the pressure on Church and State, re-ignite the enthusiasm of your own group, and be reckless of your wealth and health if need be.

Sorry, I Can't Give You These Dates!

IN order to prevent over-lapping and dis-appointment, I have already booked the following dates:—

Oct. 30, Bournemouth; Oct. 31, London.
Nov. 1, Gloucester; Nov. 3, Tonbridge; Nov. 4, Bromley; Nov. 7, London; Nov. 8, Sudbury; Nov. 11, Slough; Nov. 12, Slough; Nov. 17, Wembley; Nov. 18 and 19, Hampshire; Nov. 20, Hornsey; Nov. 22, Peckham; Nov. 23, N. Wales; Nov. 25 and 26, Hastings; Nov. 27, Liverpool; Nov. 29, Liverpool.
Dec. 2, London; Dec. 3, Epsom; Dec. 4, West Wickham; Dec. 5, 6 and 7, S. Wales.

"Early Closing" at Headquarters

As from November 4, PPU headquarters, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, will remain open only until 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

What the Groups Are Doing

SINCE the outbreak of war membership cards have been coming in in batches every week in North Wales. Public meetings have been well attended even in remote districts, and at least six new and vigorous groups have been formed at Llanberis, Fourcrosses, Pentreucha, Nevin, Morfa Nevin, and Talsarnau.

The number of active pacifist ministers is outstanding in Caernarvonshire.

London Area Meetings

WILL groups send any items for the agenda of the London Area Group Meetings on Tuesdays to Miss Muriel C. Boldero, c/o 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Police at Wales Meeting

TWO plain-clothes policemen, who took shorthand notes, were among those who attended a meeting at Gorseinon (near Swansea). The speakers were the Rev. Gwynedd Jones, Rev. W. J. Ress, Dan Thomas, Alun Davies (chairman).

About thirty people stayed behind to form a group and a committee of officers was elected. Other groups are likely to be formed in the Swansea district in the near future.

Stuart Morris at Swindon

NEARLY 400 people attended a recent Swindon meeting addressed by Stuart Morris, who spoke on "What is Just Peace?"

The meeting was organized by the Swindon Council of Pacifist Groups and a large amount of peace literature was distributed and very sympathetically received.

Stuart Morris said that the Government gave assurances that "every method had been adopted to avert war, but until Pacifism had been tried, Pacifists had a perfect right to say that everything had not been done."

Centre for Eastleigh

RECENTLY we reported the inauguration of the Mid Southern Area Council and the meeting of the Portsmouth group, when it was decided to go ahead with plans for opening a Dick Sheppard Centre in that town.

This week we are able to announce that it has been decided to take a large vacant house in Eastleigh to be opened as a Dick Sheppard Centre. Thus the example of the larger town has been closely followed by its nearest town group and it is hoped soon to have a chain of centres throughout this area.

Laurence Housman at Oldham

LAURENCE HOUSMAN addressed a meeting in Oldham last week and advocated the calling of a world conference for the redress of grievances.

If the country had vision and imagination to do it, he said, it would be a great gesture to lay down arms, and if that was accompanied by a peace conference, and in the place of our arms of destruction they could organize an army of service for constructive works internationally, such as land reclamation, he believed that the country which would give that example to the world would light a candle in the world that would never be put out.

Mr. Housman was accompanied on the platform by the Rev. R. T. Heard (chairman), John Barclay and Harry Champkin, chairman of the local group.

Worcester Meeting on "Treaties"

ADDRESSING a Worcester meeting recently, Canon Hutchinson, showed how the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles sowed the seeds of the present conflict, and said that the essential factors for the success of any future treaty were:

1. The presence of representatives of the defeated nation on terms of equality at the conference table.
2. The presence of representatives of neutral countries whose detached viewpoints would be indispensable.
3. The framing of peace terms by agreement—with the recognition of the fact that Great Britain with her vast riches and unparalleled Empire should expect to be among those that would have to give.

Sheffield Centre Opened

THE Sheffield group's new centre at 30a, Change Alley, was opened last week by Stuart Morris. There is still a considerable amount of work to be done, however. At present efforts are being concentrated on the attic which is being converted into an office.

The services of any member with a knowledge of carpentry, decorating—or just willingness will be gratefully received by Norman Proctor.

New Kingsbridge and Salcombe Group

A NEW joint group has been formed to cover Kingsbridge and Salcombe and members are asked to get into touch with the secretary, Mrs. Hartree, "Sandhills," Salcombe.

South Molton group has been re-formed and anyone interested should inform Mr. S. H. Simpson, 24, Broad Street, South Molton.

BOOKS

BACK WHERE WE STARTED

Europe Since the War. By J. Hampden Jackson. Gollancz, 3s. 6d.

FROM the title of this book one might imagine that time had marched on too quickly even for the enterprising Mr. Gollancz, and that it was already out of date. It is, nevertheless, grimly topical.

Many minds are already concerned with what is to happen when the war is over. This account of events in Europe from 1917 to 1939 can at least show us some of the mistakes we made after the last war.

To indicate the scope of Mr. Jackson's survey a reviewer cannot do better than to quote brazenly from the dust-cover, where on the publishers note the following among its contents:

"The two Russian revolutions of 1917; the German revolution of 1918; the Peace Treaties; formation of the League; the Civil War in Russia; the New Economic Policy, the Five-Year Plan; the Fiume incident; the March on Rome; the consolidation of Fascism; Germany's post-war struggle; the French point of view; the Spanish Revolution; the re-shuffling of Central Europe; Great Britain's industrial and Colonial problems; the World Crisis; political ideals in 1932; and a special section on the years of fear 1933-39."

Of the survey as a whole suffice it to say that Mr. Jackson has performed wonders of condensation, and has succeeded in keeping his account remarkably free from bias. (Thus the revolution in Russia under Lenin, and that in Italy under Mussolini are treated in a way that a partisan of either ideology could only describe as generous.)

The Poland of Versailles

Parts of the book have become suddenly more topical even since it appeared in this revised edition. For instance, in the chapter on the Peace Treaties we find this about Poland:

"The Fourteen Points promised Poland 'the territories inhabited by genuine Polish populations' and a 'free and secure access to the sea.' Clemenceau wanted a wedge of Polish territory to be driven through Germany, thus separating East Prussia from the rest of the Reich and leaving Danzig in the hands of Poland."

"Lloyd George demurred that this dismemberment of Germany would be too vindictive, but the special Commission on the Polish question reported that the people of Posen were largely Polish-speaking and Clemenceau had his way again. A Polish corridor to the Baltic divided Germany. He made one concession to Wilson: the port of Danzig and the land imme-

diately round it was to be an International Area under the administration of the League of Nations."

The faults of the Versailles Treaty have since been admitted on all sides. The admission, however, has not prevented the rise of Hitler and the outbreak of another war—of which the occasion, though not the underlying cause, is to be found in the results of that treaty.

We know how the treaty enshrined the spirit which the war had bred in the Allied Powers, and registered their desire to crush Germany as a potential rival in the business of empire-building.

Policy of Persecution

As to its effect on Germany, Mr. Jackson writes:

"How the Weimar Constitution might have worked if the Treaty of Versailles had meant peace with Germany, no-one can say. In point of fact, the Treaty licensed the persecution of Germany by the victorious Powers. Under that persecution the Weimar Constitution creaked and groaned for eleven years until at last Germany was driven to a state of revolution which made constitutional government a farce."

"The persecution included the fantastic Reparations episode, when the lowest figure Germany was to pay amounted to 200,000,000,000 gold marks; there followed default in Reparations payments and the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and 1924."

The same spirit found more subtle expression in the system of alliances which the French built in order to encircle Germany with their allies. Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland have paid a heavy price for allowing themselves to be used as pawns in this way.

The author admits that France seems to be the villain of the piece but, faithful to his impartiality, recalls extenuating circumstances. Frenchmen, he says, feel themselves to be the guardians of a culture that must be preserved, and the memory of the German invasion of 1870 lingers on.

Our Responsibility

And what of Britain? As one of the Allied Powers she must bear a share of the responsibility.

We have, in addition, to remind ourselves that in Ireland and India we have behaved in a manner very similar to that

of the Nazis in, say, Czechoslovakia. Mr. Jackson himself does not point the parallel (as a historian it is hardly his job to do so), but he says:

"Congress in India and de Valera in Ireland are leading a spiritual revolt of their people against the materialist standards of Great Britain."

It therefore becomes apparent that the spirit of justice must be applied elsewhere than merely between the present belligerents.

There is no doubt that justice—generous justice, not merely the "rule of law"—must be our aim this time. Last time the Allies were obsessed by the quest for security; yet as Mr. Jackson writes at the very end of his book:

"By the middle of 1939 the whole system of collective security envisaged in the Peace Settlement and symbolized by the word Geneva had vanished. Europe had returned to power politics and was living, as in 1914, in terror of Germany."

Had Europe, indeed, ever entirely renounced power politics?

Wave of Revolt

One other thing stands out from this narrative: the wave of revolution that swept a large part of Europe from 1917 onwards.

Militarist reaction in one form or another is today enthroned in most European countries. Already some people in Britain hope for a revolt in Germany, though they do not seem to realize that much depends upon how revolutionary the revolutionaries prove to be.

It may well be that popular risings will play a larger part in ending this war than they did last time. If so, they cannot be left out of account in any consideration of the form post-war Europe is to take.

Nationalist revolts against alien domination, for example, might well hinder the establishment of a closer European order, such as a federation. Besides these, however, there may be more radical movements against reactionary governments, or against war itself.

It is difficult to foretell what forms these would take, but the history of the past twenty years may be some guide, and Mr. Jackson has provided us with an excellent summary of it.

J. W. COWLING

Dates for Your Diary

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

BARNSTABLE; 7.30 p.m. 92 Newport Road; John Barclay; all pacifists welcomed; PPU.
PENRITH; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Wilfred Wellock and Rev. T. Clifford Brown (chairman); PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Rev. C. G. Holland on "Pacifism and the Church of England"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

LONDON, W.1; 2.30 and 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; Dick Sheppard Memorial, 1939; Laurence Housman's Little Plays of St. Francis; admission free; collection; The Adelphi Group.
NEWTON ABBOT; 3.30 p.m. Salvation Army Hut, Union Street; John Barclay at Mid Devon Conference; PPU.
BOSCOMBE, Bournemouth; 6 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; PPU.
KENDAL; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Vera Brittain and Wilfred Wellock; PPU.
GLASGOW; 8 p.m. Berkeley Hall; Andrew Stewart, M. Whitfield and Rev. C. Vincent Williams; PPU.

Sunday, October 29

BOURNEMOUTH; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Mrs. Attenborough on "Federal Union"; PPU.
SHEFFIELD; 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, Change Alley; Fellowship meeting; PPU.

Monday, October 30

BOURNEMOUTH; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; John Barclay; PPU.
WOODFORD GREEN; 6 p.m. Derby Road Methodist Church Hall; John Barclay; PPU.
WAKEFIELD; 7.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Thornhill Street; N. K. Shrigley on "My Press Cuttings Book on Pacifism"; PPU.
LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; Dick Sheppard Memorial, 1939; Laurence Housman's Little Plays of St. Francis, presented by The Adelphi Players; admission free; collection.
BOURNEMOUTH; 8 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Winton; John Barclay and member of National Council for Civil Liberties; PPU.

Tuesday, October 31

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Rev. Alex Miller; City PPU group.
LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; Wilfred E. Littleboy; Peace Committee of London Friends.
LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street; Dick Sheppard Memorial, 1939; Laurence Housman's Little Plays of St. Francis; presented by The Adelphi Players; admission free; collection.
READING; 7.30 p.m. Folk House, Church Street; Test Tribunal; chairman: F. E. Pollard; PPU.
SEDBURGH; 8 p.m. Congregational School Hall; Miss Mary Gamble and Miss Castello (chairman); PPU.

Wednesday, November 1

BALHAM; 8.15 p.m. Small Trevenna Hall, Boundaries Road; R. Ward on "Community"; R. Smallwood (chairman); PPU.

Thursday, November 2

SUTTON; 8 p.m. 51 Sherwood Park Road; Cecil Heath on "Implications of Pacifism for us Today"; PPU.

Saturday, November 4

LONDON, E.C.4; 2.15 p.m. Beaver Hall, Cannon Street; delegate conference on "Civil Liberty in Wartime"; W. H. Thompson (chairman), Professor Harold J. Laski, Robert Willis and A. S. Comyns Carr; delegate forms and further particulars from the National Council for Civil Liberties, 320 Regent Street, London, W.1.
WORCESTER; 5.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; practice tribunal; PPU.
YSTRADGYNLAIS; 7 p.m. Aion Chapel, Richard Bishop and Welsh speaker; PPU.

Sunday, November 5

NORTHAMPTON; 8.30 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; monthly breakfast (bring own food); address by Datta V. Tahmankar on "Spirit of Gandhi-ism"; PPU.

Women Could Make Peace

THE letter of "A" in your paper carries me back in memory over 45 years to the time when I was a very inexperienced, very ignorant, young teacher.

The mothers used to come to me with their requests and troubles:—"Please will you tell Robert and James that they must do their homework every night, as they will not listen to me." Please will you make John obedient."

Now, after nearly half a century, the mothers are speaking again, not to a harassed little teacher, but to anyone who will listen; the Church; the Archbishop of Canterbury; those who call themselves Christians; those who call themselves Socialists; everybody, anybody. And the nature of the trouble remains the same. Robert is using his brother for cannon-fodder; John is torturing his mother; James is being spiritually murdered, and no-one will listen, as the writer says, to the voice of the mothers.

In spite of mothers and school-mistresses and votes, we women have failed to prevent war. Let us hear what a man, an eminent priest, had to say. "Give me a child until he is five years old and you can do what you like with him afterwards." Those first five years, then, determine the character for good or evil.

But what mother will "give" her child during those precious years? He is to her "my baby," "my child." Her influence is paramount. Her will (or the baby's) is law.

Therefore, O mothers, the hope for a future of love and peace rests on you. To you only is given a morsel of humanity, like wax, on whom you will put the fashion of the soul, which we are told is the only thing that remains. "B."

What Are We Going to Do About it?

Mr. Chamberlain has told Herr Hitler that for any peace conditions to be acceptable to the Allies there must be "suggestions for righting the wrongs done to Czechoslovakia and Poland." Would not these demands be more effective if accompanied by acknowledgment to Herr Hitler of our own (though mostly past and undeniably smaller) contributions towards this present evil situation, and a sportsmanlike offer on our own part to reconsider in conference those clauses of the Versailles Treaty which, economically at least, have admittedly been somewhat repressive and conducive to reaction?

Let us face the actual psychological factor of the situation. Aldous Huxley in *What are you going to do about it?*, expresses it thus:—"if we want other people to make sacrifices we must begin by making sacrifices ourselves;—it is only by being generous (even at our own expense) and by telling the truth (even though that truth be to our own discredit) that we shall elicit generosity and truth from others. One generous gesture on the part of a great nation might be enough to set the whole world free."

To take the initial step toward more desirable relationships by working upon these inescapable facts of psychology may be, particularly if we are dealing primarily with one man's mind and actions, the only way. Thus only can we hope to pioneer Europe into that firmly-founded peace for which we are striving so earnestly and with such readiness for sacrifice. Thus also can we, as a country, claim to stand for Christianity, justice and good will.

ETHEL CHILD.

59 Kings Avenue, Watford.

Nationalism

It seems that your correspondent, Mr. de Courcy Ireland, has not fully understood my anti-nationalist letter. If the principle of nationalist "self-determination" is to be adequately respected, where is it to end? So far as Ulster is concerned there will presumably be need of enclaves for English and Scotch nationalists; the truth is that the problem of minorities can never be solved so long as Nationalist sentiment is kept dominant.

Mr. Ireland praises "self-determination" on the score that it has enabled Irishmen to keep out of the present war, but he thereby attributes an effect to the wrong cause; there are many people

in England, France, Germany and Russia who are involved in the war without their consent, although the States in question are all supposed to possess "self-determination." In 1916 conscription was successfully resisted in the Emerald Isle without nationalist government, and if the De Valera government decided to participate in the conflict, "self-determination" would not save the objectors, for nationalism identifies governments with nations and war-making governments are not accustomed to take plebiscites on their policy. The root of the evil is the fallacy implied in treating millions of people as a "self" and the consequent injustice is, or should be, manifest. By nationalism I mean the theory of national unity linked with the system of sovereign States; jingoism is a different proposition altogether.

A hatred of imperialism is by no means a monopoly of Irish tradition; many people in all countries dislike the philosophy of Empire, and on the other hand many Irishmen have voluntarily aided the wars of British Imperialism. But imperialism is second to nationalism as a cause of war in the modern era.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

False Premises?

I signed the peace pledge several years ago and am more than ever convinced that war is fundamentally wrong and incomparably silly.

It is essential, however, that we should face facts and not argue from false premises.

Your contributor, Jim Simmons, in his article implies that we "Tommies" thought the Peace Terms unduly severe. I fear that his memory is very short. At the close of the war the general sentiment I heard expressed in the rank was one of resentment that we had not been permitted to carry the war into Germany and bomb Berlin as London had been bombed. The most general expression I have heard from ex-Servicemen recently is "If only they had let us finish the

job properly last time, this would not have happened."

We must face the fact that the British Legion, which has done such magnificent work in fostering friendship with ex-Servicemen in Germany, is wholeheartedly behind the Government, and in many districts report nearly 100 percent of their membership on National Service. So please don't let's pretend the politicians are the "wicked uncles."

Then J. Middleton Murry assures us that the war will give us a dictatorship. Do not let us chase that hare. We had Conscription, Dora, &c., last time, but that did not prevent us from returning to democratic government.

Let us be fair, too, to facilities we receive. You complain of interference with pacifist propaganda. But in what other country should we be given so much latitude as we have here?

When you refer to phases of our work ignored or belittled by the national press, I wonder what you expect? Until we convert the editors, and while they believe our policy prejudicial to the welfare of the nation, it would not be natural for them to do otherwise. How much space would you give to those with whom you disagree entirely?

I served, 1914-18 as a private in a line regiment in Gallipoli, Sinai, Palestine, Belgium and France, and now have children of my own. I am adamant in my adherence to the Pledge, but feel we have too good a cause to prejudice it by starting footling side-issues and making wild guesses and incorrect statements.

A. E. CUMMINS.

41 Nova Road, Croydon, Surrey.

* If "interferences with pacifist propaganda" is contrary to democratic principles (which we believe it is, and which is the reason for our complaint), it seems to us to be beside the point that other countries are even less democratic. As regards the attitude of the press, the complaint is (a) that papers which claim to be, or have come to be regarded as, public institutions do not give adequate space to an important section of public opinion; and (b) that papers which claim to report news as such do not fulfil that function adequately if they ignore or belittle certain activities of the peace movement which, in themselves, undoubtedly constitute news—often of national importance.—Ed., P.N.

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—1939—

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N.B.—Since accommodation will be limited, it is suggested that those who can should avoid coming to the performance on the actual anniversary, October 31st.

Will There Be Conscription For A.R.P.?

From a Correspondent

WILL military conscription be followed by conscription for ARP?

Suggestions are already being made in some quarters that people should be compelled to do ARP work. It is significant that the argument that is being used is that if men are being conscripted for military service it is only equitable that others should be forced to do their share in civil defence.

Public expression was given to this point of view last week at a meeting of the Birkenhead Chamber of Commerce by Mr. Guy Williams, chairman of the Birkenhead Emergency Committee.

CONSCRIPTION SUGGESTED

Referring to the ARP services of the town, Mr. Williams said that if they did not get voluntary help by a drive of public opinion, the only alternative was conscription.

He declared that he hated conscription, but added that in view of the fact that the youth of the country was being conscripted for Army service he did not see why there should be any serious objection for civil defence.

His remarks were endorsed by another member of the chamber, Alderman A. J. Pugh, who said he was forced to the opinion that, just as their soldiers were being conscripted, the general body of the public should be conscripted to do its part in the defence of the country.

PRESS SUPPORT

These remarks evoked not a word of protest. On the contrary, a leading article in the local press strongly supported the proposals. After remarking that the ideal in the present emergency is beyond question a system of voluntary service, the writer went on to say:

"But when volunteers fall short of our present vast requirements only one alternative remains—a compulsory harnessing of energies that are at the moment lying idle... The burden of our responsibilities is too heavy to be borne by a few, no matter how willing those few may be, and the fairest adjustment would un-

doubtedly be through civil conscription. It is not right to confine compulsion to the youth of the country for the Services."

So we are to have compulsion everywhere and the totalitarianism which we are supposed to be fighting will be an accomplished fact in our own country!

COs ALREADY AFFECTED

Incidentally, some people are, in fact, already being conscripted for ARP. For not all those conscientious objectors who are being put (in considerable numbers) on the military service register for non-combatant duties only will be given work like that of the RAMC.

Only "a limited number" will be posted to such corps, according to an official statement read to applicants by the Bristol tribunal. The remainder will be posted to Labour Corps, which will involve, among other things, "passive air defence, anti-gas, and decontamination of rearward areas."

Clergy Say Leaders Do Not Speak for Entire Church

TWENTY clergy in Birmingham have publicly rejected the assumption that "righteousness of our cause justifies the prosecution of the war to the bitter end." On this assumption, they declare, have been based the various pronouncements by Church leaders "which have doubtless given an impression to the public that such utterances represent the official attitude and corporate mind of the Church." They point out, however, that "there is a considerable body of opinion in the Church, probably larger than is usually realized, which does not accept such an assumption."

Death of Andrew Jackson

MEMBERS of the Peace Pledge Union, in particular, will have heard with very deep regret of the fatal motor accident in which Kenneth Andrew Jackson, of 23 Chase Green Avenue, Enfield, was killed at Edmonton on Sunday night. The motor-cycle which he was riding came into collision with a lorry during the black-out.

Andrew Jackson, who would have been 21 in February, was one of the most active members of the Peace Pledge Union, both in his local group (for which he often sold *Peace News*) and with the Adelphi Group.

He appeared before the London tribunal for conscientious objectors only last Thursday, when he was registered on condition that he did agricultural work. He had intended to appeal, however, as he claimed absolute exemption.

Community Member

Andrew, as he was known to members of the Adelphi Group—and, indeed, to many who came in contact with him in his wholehearted activities—was one of the founders of the Adelphi Music Club and a very willing member of the Adelphi Dramatic Group. He had, at very short notice, taken a part in one of the *Little Plays of St. Francis* which that group is presenting in memory of Dick Sheppard (as announced on page 7), and he had similarly come to the group's assistance—with great success—when they presented *Murder in the Cathedral*, some time ago.

He was also one of the first members of the community that lived at 10 Abbey Gardens, London, N.W.8, though he left there a few weeks ago. A member of that community described his passing as "a tremendous loss to the pacifist movement."

His father, who (though not himself a pacifist) was a friend of Dick Sheppard, told *Peace News* that Andrew lived a very full life and was a wonderful musician. Because in a special sense they share their loss, pacifists will extend to his family their special sympathy.

Not Too Young for War at 15?

The "human story" which the press discovered when the Royal Oak was sunk—how a 15-year-old victim had been allowed by his parents to join the Navy only after he had cried his eyes out nearly because they wouldn't let him—must have caused many people to wonder that youngsters of such an age should be subjected to such perils.

When it was reported that a boy of 15 was on the *Courageous* when she was sunk, Stuart Morris, Chairman of the PPU, wrote to Mr. Winston Churchill asking if it would be possible "for the same kind of provision to be made in regard to the Navy as has been made in regard to the Army, so that you could give an assurance to the country that youths under twenty years of age will not be sent to sea."

The official who replied from the Admiralty said: "The pronounced distinction which exists between the conditions of a soldier at home and one in the trenches overseas does not exist in the Navy. The younger ratings, ordinary seamen, boys, &c., form an essential part of the complement of a ship, and service at sea is an integral part of their training."

A Message for Labour

AS part of the Peace Pledge Union's "Stop-the-War" campaign, a vitally important pamphlet by Wilfred Wellock will be published this weekend.

Entitled "The Mystery of Germany and Russia: What does the Soviet-German Pact Portend?" it should help to strengthen the peace demand which is growing inside the Labour Party. It is therefore important that it should be circulated in Labour and Co-operative circles as widely as possible.

Its appeal is not, however, limited in scope and it has a message for the privileged classes as well.

In order that it shall be sold in large quantities the pamphlet is priced at 1d. Orders should be sent to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

★

There is still a supply at PPU headquarters of the "Nine Reasons for Stopping the War" leaflet—No. 3 in the "Stop-the-War" series. Send your orders at once.

Earl Rebukes Rector Who Destroyed Peace Pamphlets

A REBUKE for his action in tearing up a heap of peace pamphlets he found in his church has been sent to the Rector of Kettering, the Rev. G. Holborow, by the Earl of Mar.

The Rector had stated that the pamphlets were placed in the church without his permission and that he strongly resented it. His curate recently denounced from the pulpit "those who put miserable pamphlets under the door at night, demanding an armistice."

Writing as a member of the Peace Pledge Union and the Premier Earl of Scotland, and as "a servant of the Prince of Peace," the Earl of Mar told the Rector last week: "I feel it a public duty to convey to you an expression of the marked displeasure which unquestionably will be felt by Christian men and women at such un-Christlike conduct on the part of you both."

He added that the Rector and his curate "deliberately seek to preclude the negotiation of peace and would foster the continuance of a modern war, with its frightful slaughter of both fighting men and civilian men, women, and children."

A Kettering member of the Peace Pledge Union told *Peace News* that so far as he was aware the pamphlets found in the church were not PPU publications. The Kettering group has delivered locally 4,000 copies of the second leaflet in the PPU's "Stop-the-War" series.

LONDON WOMEN'S PEACE MARCHES

More than forty women took part in two processions through the West End of London on Tuesday evening. They carried banners reading: "For the sake of the children everywhere we appeal to men to stop this war."

The marchers left Kingsway Hall at 4.30 p.m. and again at 5.30 p.m. In spite of rain the procession marched in good order and was well received.

Another procession was to be held on Wednesday evening.

BRISTOL TRIBUNAL SESSIONS

The Bristol Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors will be sitting on the following dates: October 31; November 1, 2, 13, 14, December 7, 8 and 9. The Tribunal will meet in the Senate Room, Bristol University, and the sessions will last from 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Mass selling of *Peace News* will take place in Liverpool every Saturday, commencing tomorrow.

Volunteers should meet in Lime Street from 3 p.m. onwards.

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN PETITION MOVEMENT PEACE MEETING NEW CRUSADERS

FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION AND PEACE BASED ON CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PRINCIPLES.

CONWAY HALL,
RED LION SQUARE, HOLBORN

(3 minutes' from Holborn Tube Station)

Sunday, October 29th, at 3 p.m.

Come and hear:—

Lady Clare Annesley and

Robert J. Scrutton

(Founder of the U.C.P.M.)

Come and take part in the inauguration of a People's Parliament and a National Plebiscite for Peace and International Reconstruction. It will be explained at the meeting how all people of good-will can co-operate to end War and make effective the will of the British people.

Help to establish a People's Parliament in your district.

250 reserved seats 1/- 250 free seats.
Doors open at 2.45.

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 176 27.10.39

REPUDIATED

Dr. Maude Royden and the Rev. Donald Soper have dissociated themselves from the statement opposing a continuation of the war issued by the British Council for Christian Settlement in Europe and published in last week's *Peace News*.

They were among the 28 signatories of the statement, which proposed a conference for the settlement of European problems on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

Mass Peace News selling at Walsall tomorrow (Saturday), 4 p.m. Meet Dick Sheppard House, 245 p.m. Birmingham and other volunteers please help.

Following representative people have already signified support for declaration asking Government to state its peace terms (see page 1):
Alderman Harrison Barrow; Dr. Cyril Bailey; W. W. Blair-Pitch; Clive Bell; Gerald Bullitt; Vera Brittain; Canon S. R. Barry; C. Roden Burton; Dame Elizabeth Cadbury; Rev. Henry Carter; Prof. S. M. Corfield; J. Forrester-Paton; A. Ruth Fry; Dr. Herbert Gray; Prof. Lancelot Hogben; Sir Richard Holt; Storm Jameson; Dr. C. E. M. Joad; Wilfred Littleboy; Rose Macaulay; Lord Noel Buxton; Hon. Alexandra Peckover; Lord and Lady Pamour; Lord Rochester; Dr. F. Lincoln Ralph; Rev. Leyton Richards; Canon Shinnell; Marquis of Tavistock; Dame Sybil Thorndike; H. M. Tomlinson; E. B. Verney; Rev. Leslie Weatherhead; H. M. Woodhouse; Mrs. Barbara Wootton.

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